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EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL

Thesis/Project

**ANTI-OPPRESSION VISUAL ART IN CHURCHES:
SAINT JOHN'S MEMORIAL CHAPEL AT EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL
AS A CASE STUDY**

BY

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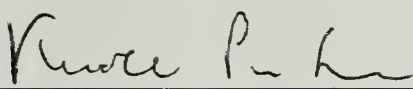
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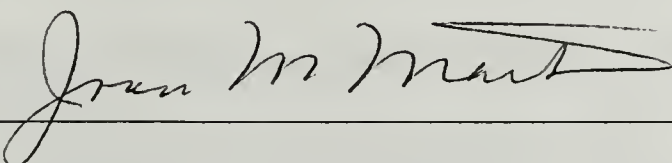
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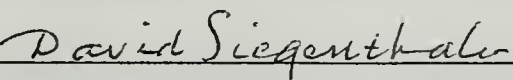
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I dedicate this thesis
to my sons Ben, Peter, and Danny Scheyer
and to the memory of my late parents Roberta and William Mack.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Last September I preached about Hildegard in Saint John's Memorial Chapel at Episcopal Divinity School (EDS). In the midst of my sermon I gestured broadly toward the stained glass window of Jesus and the Apostles above the entrance doors. I invited the congregation to linger with me in the deep vibrant blues and browns shown in John's robe as I described the swirling colors in one of Hildegard's illuminations.¹ There in the seminary chapel I experienced a sudden and fundamental mismatch that nearly derailed my gentle guided meditation. The vibrant and rich "medieval" colors were out of place in a window showing a historical figure from the first century. The historical accuracy of clothing style and country landscape clashed with the breathtaking beauty of the jewel tones in the glass. From that time on I examined each window in the chapel with curiosity (a hermeneutic of suspicion) about both historical content and artistic form.

A month or so later I sat with the choir in our usual chapel seating opposite a wall without windows. I saw my own face reflected in the glass of a large formal portrait of Absalom Jones, the first African-American priest in the Episcopal Church. For the first time ever I saw myself as if in a stained glass window in a chapel. I realized that none of the windows showed people like me and I felt (at a deep, newly-conscious level) excluded, undervalued, and invisible in the great scheme of church history. Most of my

¹ Matthew Fox, *Illuminations of Hildegard of Bingen: Text by Hildegard of Bingen with Commentary by Matthew Fox* (Santa Fe: Bear & Co., 1985). See the drawing called "All Beings Celebrate Creation," 74.

classmates somewhat resembled the light-skinned faces of the memorialized figures in the windows. Yet the windows for me belied the anti-oppression teachings of the seminary. For two full years I had learned about everyone being at the welcome table. I felt called to find a way to make more seats at that table beyond the current windows. I wanted visitors to the chapel to inhale our call to justice, compassion, and reconciliation – not just an implied continuance of the too familiar exclusionary church history.

The mismatch that I experienced between the historical context and the artistic form of the windows in the chapel reminded me of something my ethics professor, Joan Martin, often said about “What you choose to include reveals who you are.” This approach to moral agency is echoed by Christopher H. Evans in the *Social Gospel Today*² where he links such choices to “the search for historical integrity by expanding notions of ‘Who counts’ in the social gospel.” I extend the agency even further to ask who we are as a Christian church when we count only white and mostly male faces and bodies as portrayals of Christ’s body. Are the rest of us not worth seeing in church windows surrounding our worship space? I felt excluded from church history when none of the windows looked like me as an African-American.

The power of beauty in windows was highlighted for me by a recent article in *Harvard Magazine*³ about the secular windows in Memorial Hall at Harvard University. The article prompted me to draw an analogy between the popular appeal of windows in

² Christopher H. Evans, ed., *The Social Gospel Today* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 20.

³ Christopher Reed, “War and Peace: A Stained-Glass Window in Harvard’s Memorial Hall,” *Harvard Magazine*, January-February 2010, 1.
<http://harvardmagazine.com/2010/01/war-and-peace> (accessed February 15, 2010).

the secular space of Memorial Hall and those in the sacred space in Saint John's Memorial Chapel. Visitors occasionally enter the chapel doors after a midday service and wander through the sanctuary with a single page photo-free guide to the windows. Often I hear them exclaim "How pretty!" I have yet to hear anyone wax on the theological education they got from seeing the combination of saints, church fathers, apostles, Jesus, and early figures in Anglican Church history.

Despite the pretty colors, the gallery of windows at Saint John's Memorial Chapel is dominated by historical white-looking men. Two women are included in the series of chapel windows, yet there are no windows for Mary, nor are any other Bible women shown alone or with Jesus. The only icons of Mother and Child are in the Kiva chapel, which is not explained on the handout. I realized that even as I saw my reflection in Absalom Jones portrait, the impact was limited by the shadowy way that it was framed in a formal dark photograph. One formal portrait of a black man on a dark background in a reflective glass frame on a lower portion of a wall did not compare to glorious colors of sunlight streaming through stained glass faces of pair after pair of white men in stunning outdoor settings.

Current seminary curriculum in the Episcopal Church teaches inclusion in Christian community. Episcopal Divinity school in particular incorporates carefully selected course materials addressing the nature of oppression and the need for justice, compassion, and reconciliation in Christian ministry. These anti-oppression studies and experiences help to form new clergy and lay ministers and shape student's interpretations

of the expectations for an Episcopal priest.⁴ The expectation is for students to enter into a new way of living and a way of being in community that demonstrates their learning in theological education. Many students share in the disciplined inquiry into aspects of life that are expected of new priests: daily scripture reading, wholesome living and equipping the baptized to do God's ministry.

The windows in the chapel at Episcopal Divinity School contrast with the focus of past and current seminary curriculum. Historically the approach to theological education in small groups with extensive discussion was begun as an innovation by Dean George Zabriskie Gray and continued by Dean William Lawrence at Episcopal Theological School (ETS) in the 1940s.⁵ However the chapel had already been built and the stained glass windows were donated and designed soon after 1911 and no further windows have been added since that time. An examination of the chapel windows as designed for theological education and as guided by a faculty committee⁶ reveals a limited scope and a discernable thrust toward white, non-American, non-controversial church figures and historical notables. Given the state of our country in 1911, this set of windows makes a historical statement about who was welcome, who was honored, and who spoke the voice of the Gospel message in ministry at that chapel.

The contrast between the visual art and the curriculum in the seminary is not surprising. The Episcopal Church as a whole has churches with windows that exclude

⁴ *The Book of Common Prayer*, Examination, Ordination of a Priest, 9.
<http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/bcp.htm>. (accessed November 5, 2009).

⁵ William Lawrence, *Seventy-three Years of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge: A Narrative* (Cambridge, Mass: Episcopal Theological School, 1940), 19 and 21.

⁶ David Siegenthaler, *St John's Memorial Chapel: Nave, Transept, and Apse Window*. (Cambridge, Mass: Episcopal Divinity School, 2007), 1.

African-Americans. There is a wider problem in Episcopal Churches of omissions in visual art. The interior windows in many Episcopal churches of Gothic architecture today show forth a selection of white male faces and perhaps a few white women without adequate representation of African-Americans. Other churches may be of a plainer Reformation architecture without stained glass figures at all – but with stone or brass plaques around the walls commemorating notable visitors or donors. In these churches banners or ecclesiastical linens often proclaim comprehensive (not universal according to Joan M. Martin)⁷ slogans and symbols of welcome. However in the setting of our churches overall, the gathering of everyone as equals must be preceded by the respecting of those who were previously denied full recognition. Margaret Miles similarly expresses this universality of an image as depending on an act of recognition by each person.⁸ This recognition would seem to be predicated by experiences of empathy and compassion for the lives of people different from ourselves.

Theologically it is important to include African-Americans in worship space and to tell the whole history of African-American contributions to church and society. Only when all are represented can all walk forth together in unity. All too often the unity is voiced, artistically rendered, and expected without addressing and reconciling the exclusions of the past. The influence of African-Americans on worship in Episcopal Churches seldom is fully appreciated. Many congregations of predominantly white

⁷ The Rev. Dr. Joan M. Martin, Sermon, Saint John's Memorial Chapel, Spring 2010.

⁸ Margaret R. Miles, *Image as Insight: Visual Understanding in Western Christianity and Secular Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), 30.

worshippers only know a small part of the story of African-American contributions to the history of the USA in various fields. As emphasized by Ida B. Wells and Frederick Douglass as early as 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair, African-Americans should not have to plead for representation after having contributed so much to the development and the wealth of the nation.⁹

The seminary trains future ministry leaders to look honestly at issues of inclusion and exclusion. The responsibility for Christian education in Episcopal parishes rests with the rector according to canon law.¹⁰ This education is meant to equip the baptized members of the congregation to do ministry as a response to the Gospel call to all Christians as found in scripture. Ordination as a priest also carries additional expectations for the rector in areas such as daily scripture study, modeling wholesome family life, and empowering the people of God as ministers of the Gospel.¹¹ Future priests typically are equipped to engage in such educational leadership in seminary and subsequent continuing education. Seminary education and formation has traditionally focused on curriculum and field experience in seven canonical areas (church history,

⁹ Ida B. Wells (1862-1931) (ed). "The Reason Why the Colored American Is Not in the World's Columbian Exposition. The Afro-American's Contribution to Columbian Literature. With contributions by Frederick Douglass (1818-1895), Irvine Garland Penn (1867-1930), and Ferdinand Lee Barnett (1859-1936). From the reprint of the 1893 edition, Robert W. Rydell, ed., Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999," <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/wells/exposition/exposition.html> (accessed February 15, 2010).

¹⁰ "Constitution & Canons, Together with the Rules of Order For the government of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America Otherwise Known as The Episcopal Church Adopted and Revised in General Convention, 1789-2006," Canon III.9.5(b)(1)). http://www.episcopalarchives.org/e-archives/canons/CandC_FINAL_11.29.2006.pdf. (accessed December 8, 2009).

¹¹ *The Book of Common Prayer*, 9.

theology, ethics, contemporary society, theory and practice of ministry, liturgics, and Bible studies). Most Episcopal seminaries fall short of including the diversity of students, staff, and faculty that would reflect the denominational membership nationwide. Thus the seminaries miss the opportunity to provide exposure to the often cloaked history of oppression and its lingering effect in our church and society through deep personal and institutional processing of issues of inclusion.

This study will help to prepare lay and ordained ministers in the Episcopal church to notice the exclusion of African-Americans from visual art in worship space. My observations about what I found and what was missing in visual art in various churches led me to write this thesis. This study is designed to meet the current need for Christian education and to prepare ministers to lead worship in liturgical space that is true to the evolving demographics of Episcopal parishes. Newcomers may arrive with different skin color or primary language. Congregation members may come from noticeably different social locations with varied expectations for seeing themselves welcomed into worship. Any number of congregations may share a single worship space offset by time of worship service. Church buildings may also be shared with or rented to faith groups or denominations with different norms for artistic use of worship space. As a result of this study the proposed changes in the visual art will send a message of welcome to these newcomers, members, and visitors.

My goal in exposing exclusions in unexpected places—visual art in church windows—is to then provide a process and tools to help to remedy this theologically undesirable situation. My objective is to layer the ethics of inclusion over the history of

exclusion of African-Americans and women in visual art in many churches yet today. I searched existing churches for some exceptions and I closely examined existing sets of windows or banners to highlight some imbalances. My methodology included oral interviews with the seminary community and other churchgoers. An inventory of Saint John's chapel at Episcopal Divinity School provided a case study for me to evaluate this balance. My goal is threefold: 1) to equip people in Episcopal parishes to follow an ethical-historical process to see the need for additional visual art, 2) to select representative pieces, and 3) to inform and educate congregations and the community about the way that visual art invites us all into full membership in the fellowship of Christ's body.

CHAPTER 2

VISUAL IMAGES IN WORSHIP SPACE

Visual Art in Modern Worship Spaces

A major consideration in the design of church windows is balancing the desire for beauty (as defined by the donor and current congregation) and the Gospel call to justice in representing the whole people of God. The theme of justice in reflection on aesthetics and creativity was captured in a recent call for papers for the American Academy of Religion. The goal of the upcoming session is to “revisit the persistent tensions between religious affirmations that posit either beauty or justice as the central concern of divine engagement with creation.”¹² Contrasting ideas of beautiful skin tone, conflicting notions of who is fully human, and lack of respect for historical and theological contributions of different social groups or ethnic groups or economic classes of people potentially add complexity to the decision-making about which windows are best placed in the worship space of a given congregation at a given time.

Many of my observations about visual art in churches were made more succinct by insights that I gained from reading *Image as Insight* by Margaret Miles.¹³ Miles observed in her introduction that “the perception and interpretation of an image or a building was governed not by the intention of its creator but by the vital interest of the

¹² Meghan Sweeney, Ph.D. personal communication, March 5, 2010 about content of Susan Abraham and Mayra Rivera, chairs. “2010 Call for Papers for American Academy of Religion: Theology and Religious Reflection Section.” <http://www.aarweb.org/> (accessed March 5, 2010).

¹³ Miles, Chapter 1.

viewer.”¹⁴ In her chapter on “Image and Language in Contemporary Culture,” Miles described in detail the ways that the arts we live with daily imprint themselves on us.¹⁵ She described three levels of engaging with the visual arts that combine to provide a solid framework for interpreting the meaning of stained glass windows in churches. The three ways are 1) acting as art historian, 2) using the image, and 3) critically using the image.

Acting as an art historian falls at the opposite end of potential engagement with a work of art – far removed from critical use of the image. The process of telling about an image and describing in detail its form as shape, space, color, and solidity all are part of acting as an art historian. At this first level the observer invests little emotional or theological energy into responding to the image. The second level of using the image begins by allowing it to “speak” to the personal and particular message appropriate for a given person at a certain time in their life. The third and deepest level of engagement and investment with an image is critically using it. This level is a spontaneous result of critically living with the image over time—day after day – until one can articulate the personal message of the image as it is relevant to one’s private affective life. It seems that as Miles tells it the critical use of an image gives rise to a feeling of being called to respond or act on the image.¹⁶

Another way to sort through images in churches for their relative intent and impact¹⁷ is to identify four spectra for describing the increasing ambiguity of religious

¹⁴ Miles, 6.

¹⁵ Miles, 136.

¹⁶ Miles, 137.

¹⁷ Visions, Inc. 2003. “Intent vs. Impact.” <http://www.visions-inc.com/serv03.htm>. (accessed January 20, 2010).

images compared to religious language.¹⁸ These spectra describe increasing denotative capacity from an image having one meaning to the possibility of multivalent meanings. First and most definite in interpretation is icons as images corresponding to creedal texts. These have a single meaning and particular content with structured rules of interpretation. Second are representational images and sermon texts which encourage relating sacred content to ordinary visual experience or informational affirmation. Third are impressionistic images and devotional texts with particular content evoking personal piety. Fourth and at the highest level of multivalent meaning are the abstract images and abstract texts with ambiguous meanings. Stained glass windows and other images in churches can be sorted along these spectral lines – and relating them to the same variety as is found in religious texts may help non-trained observers to understand the range of artistic visual images better.

Another helpful resource in my exploration of visual art in churches was Michael Battle's view on how political and sacred spaces are seen together. Battle discusses current visual art in churches in an article "Sacred Political Space: An Anglican Ethos" in Runkle's classic text on liturgical design called *Searching for Sacred Space*.¹⁹ Battle mentions that sacred and political spaces are seen together in Liberation Panels in the Anglican cathedral in South Africa (Saint George's). Battle emphasizes the political intent of Gothic architecture for churches to elevate church status in society and to demonstrate the prowess of architects. In a call for renewal of such spaces Battle insists

¹⁸ Miles, 34.

¹⁹ Michael Battle, "Sacred Political Space: An Anglican Ethos," in *Searching for Sacred Space: Essays on Architecture and Liturgical Design in the Episcopal Church*, ed. John Ander Runkle (New York: Church Publishing, 2002) 129-42.

that "church buildings should signify hospitality and justice."²⁰ The stained glass windows in Saint George's Cathedral will be explored further in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Most notable in this context is that they portray Christ as a black man and are one of the best known instances of such in the world.

Taking Battle's union of sacred and political a step further, David Phillippart in Runkle's same text calls his article "House of Justice."²¹ Phillippart tells a gripping story of a black seminarian entering a church and seeing art depicting white angels and saints and asking "Do I really belong here?"²² I felt a parallel to this story one day in chapel when I glanced up and saw my own reflection in the glass of the framed portrait of Absalom Jones, as I mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis. From that day on for the Eucharist I chose to sit in chapel opposite that portrait because there was no other image of a black woman in any of the chapel windows except my own reflection in glass.

A number of authors, including Battle and Phillippart, spoke to potential of the church building as a physical sign of right relationship with God and each other. Along this line David Smart explored the history of Anglican Church Plans and looked at theological and ideological processes that have informed church design including

²⁰ Battle, 129.

²¹ Phillippart, David. "House of Justice." in *Searching for Sacred Space: Essays on Architecture and Liturgical Design in the Episcopal Church*, ed. John Ander Runkle (New York: Church Publishing, 2002) 143-44.

²² Phillippart 144.

movable chairs, placement of altars in the midst of the people, and the historical placement of pulpit or lectern apart from the altar to emphasize the Word.²³

Susan White's thoughts on women's contribution and invisibility in visual arts helped to frame this discussion as I interpreted the images that I saw and processed the meaning of what I did not see. In her recent text on liturgical history, Susan White stresses that the "social and political context of contemporary theology demands a moral edge to this discussion that has simply not been there."²⁴ This moral edge adds a dimension beyond both the intent of the donor to honor family and friends, and the intent of designers to portray what they perceive is the historically significant and theologically relevant people in visual art. White continues to say that we find sacramentality of social ethics and spirituality in sacred space and that sacred space is where Christian community is involved in anamnesis (remembering, embodying, and handing on) in authentic witness to the sacrificial and self-giving love of God for the world.²⁵ The moral framework for choosing who to depict in church windows, and what to do about those excluded, becomes through White's analysis a central part of discussions on stained glass windows.

²³ David H. Smart, "Anglican Church Plans: A Brief History." in *Searching for Sacred Space: Essays on Architecture and Liturgical Design in the Episcopal Church*, ed. John Ander Runkle (New York: Church Publishing, 2002) 73.

²⁴ Susan White, "Can We Talk About A Theology Of Sacred Space?" in *Searching for Sacred Space: Essays on Architecture and Liturgical Design in the Episcopal Church*, ed. John Ander Runkle (New York: Church Publishing, 2002) 28.

²⁵ White, 31 and 34.

Visual Art in Historic Worship Spaces

This moral framework rests on two ethical areas that have alternated in relative focus throughout church history. These two areas are 1) visual arts as theological education driven by economics of wealth and ethics of philanthropic power, and 2) literary and auditory theological education driven by concern for the participation of the common person and the ethics of shared grace. In the larger historical context of Christianity, ethics and church history have informed choices of visual art for as long as churches have been built or designated. The “poor man’s Bible” was found in small country churches in England during medieval times (especially the 13th and 14th centuries as the focal point for God thoughts among rural poor people.²⁶ Similar artistic works also were found in the cathedrals in England where urban poor people gathered. I renamed this text as the “poor person’s Bible” to be inclusive of the women as well as men to whom it was available. This is a sacred text because it tells the story of human interaction with God. Rightfully it is called a Bible because it was originally a visual format for the Holy Scriptures taken quite literally (although with inevitable socio-historical interpretation such as in the selection of human models and the scenery).

This “Bible” was different because it consisted of artistic works that were visually “read” instead of printed pages in books. During the 14th century there was some instruction in the Creed, Lord’s Prayer, and Ten Commandments as listed in the “Lay

²⁶ Frederick Quinn, *To Be A Pilgrim: The Anglican Ethos In History* (New York: Crossroad, 2001), 22.

Folk's Catechism of 1357," but sermons were rare.²⁷ The churches had no seats so people wandered about during mass and were free to see walls and windows. Church historian John Moorman tells us that highly painted walls and *historiated* windows inside the churches were the means of teaching Bible stories, legends of the saints, or moral lessons at parish churches in medieval villages of 14th century as "popular religion"²⁸ Hand-copied Bibles were too expensive and parishioners were illiterate so walls, windows, rare sermons, and religious drama provided knowledge of Bible narratives.²⁹ Some themes from older paintings and windows may still be theologically sound, such as those on the nature of dichotomies and relationships including heaven and hell, angels and saints, shepherd and sheep, and other biblical stories even as modern Scripture criticism helps us to re-interpret these stories.

The first ethical area related to historic stained glass windows is relative wealth and power. Stained glass windows and church murals that first appeared during medieval times reflected the economic conditions in the 1400s. During that era life was so tenuous that the poor people begged for a source of hope in the afterlife. They had limited time away from working to attend church and when they got to the churches for worship, they roamed the open church area looking at and discussing among themselves the murals, windows, statuary, and architecture while listening uncomprehendingly to the worship (meaning they did not understand the Latin language yet they could "visually read" the

²⁷ John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England*, 3rd ed. (London: A. and C. Black, 1973), 123 and 131.

²⁸ Ibid., 122.

²⁹ Ibid., 125.

pictures of the salvation story). Christian education was essentially self-guided for poor people using the visual aids in the church. The act of building these churches and decorating them in this manner with art was generally known as a major outlet for philanthropy and a means of earning salvation by the wealthy. It seems to me that it was only as an unintended byproduct of that philanthropy was the “poor person’s Bible” available to the masses.

The second ethical area was literary concern for common people during the Protestant Reformation. Although some of the medieval visual art had been captured in the expensive Book of Hours as a popular devotional manual, most laity could not afford those miniatures of paintings about the psalms as illustrated color plates. By the 15th century printing had been invented, and new woodcuts and typography made devotional and educational images available alongside the printed word and outside of church buildings.³⁰ Remnants of the visual “poor person’s Bible” survived the destruction of churches during the English Reformation, but most were lost in the smashing of statues, replacing of stained glass with clear glass, and whitewashing of paintings.³¹ In the reconstruction of churches after the reformation, some larger colored windows and more decorated chapels emerged in England such as at King’s College, Cambridge. Also illustrated Psalters became very popular because they required minimal reading³² and they showed portable scenes like those on church walls and windows. However the focus

³⁰ Ibid, 149.

³¹ Quinn, 148.

in worship had shifted to the auditory sermon and the printed *Book of Common Prayer* as the Church of England took shape.

Some challenging moral theology themes became evident in my study of the visual arts as surviving remnants of the “poor person’s Bible” in churches today. The ethics of wealth and leisure have returned to the forefront in this country today in direct competition with social justice issues of poverty, literacy, and even immigrant labor. Modern churches may view the inclusion of artistic works in new church construction as a choice between frivolous spending on architecture and the responsible alternative of support for programs for social justice. Art and sculpture may be seen less as offerings to the glory of God and reminders of God’s majesty (as in former memorial windows) than as a flaunting of congregational wealth. This study will help to refocus the intention of new visual art back on the Glory of God through enhanced Christian education and people as positive moral examples.

The shift today is a reversal of that which occurred during the Reformation when visual education through art was replaced in England by literary education due to increased accessibility to the printed text of scripture. Although we retain printed Bibles, a focus on preaching in worship, and regular reading of scripture in Episcopal churches, we are also immersed in the common practices of secular social interaction. The tools of daily human interaction now include phones with video screens, cameras on computers, worldwide internet access to images, and an abundance of television channels with global news and visual programming. The literary focus seems to have given way to a visual preference for icons and artistic symbols as well as live recordings of worship services

showing the inside of worship space with any visual art. In our highly visual lifestyle it is especially striking to see the contrast between faces visible in the historic church windows and the African-American faces in some congregations (and in many more surrounding communities) which are excluded from visual art within the churches.

Changes in giving patterns of wealthy church members combined with limited space in existing buildings means that parishes either cannot afford craftsmen or see no room for medieval style in visual expressions. Parishes may choose to express their Reformation and Puritan roots by building a plain church as a statement of humility and to focus on God. Finally with comfortable places to sit facing forward and books to read to participate actively in worship in a familiar language, there is little opportunity for or interest in looking around within the church building.

However, the purpose and origin of modern replicates of the stained glass windows and interior church murals still rest on the same foundation as in medieval times. We find today congregations where many people have limited time to read the written text of the Scriptures, little help in understanding the catechism and theological concepts from sermons, and little familiarity with the liturgy of worship including minimal understanding of their potential participatory role as laity. Moreover, the artistic works are still donated by a few wealthy members and probably recorded as charitable donations for tax purposes.

Art historian Kathleen Curran calls this the Romanesque Revival and cites it as an achievement of the American renaissance.³³ She mentions Trinity Church in Boston as “the first comprehensive example of American mural painting” completed in 1877. She describes the “primitive plain” Romanesque style of Protestant ecclesiastical buildings of the early 1800s that contained large murals as a link back to the early Christian church and were more suitable for murals than the later Gothic style. Curran notes the doctrinal basis for giving visual expression to the preaching on Bible history, and the availability of German immigrant painters and architects in the 1840s that actually created the art.

We need to move forward from that Gothic revival in America that produced the historical church windows in the early 1900s as visual denial—exclusive theology in the midst nation where contributions of African-Americans went unheralded. We need to explore together as congregations ways to reclaim those buildings and also how to enhance plainer Protestant architecture with symbols meaningful to African-Americans.

³³ Kathleen Curran, “The Romanesque Revival, Mural Painting and Protestant Patronage in America,” *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (Dec., 1999), 693-722. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3051340?cookieSet=1> (accessed February 15, 2010)

CHAPTER 3

VISUAL IMAGES IN SAINT JOHN'S MEMORIAL CHAPEL AT EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL: A CASE STUDY

An Inventory of the Stained Glass Windows

The chapel at EDS was built in 1868 in the style of English country churches as described by former Professor Lloyd Patterson in his history of the seminary.³⁴ Throughout that text he described in detail the changes in architecture and furniture arrangement in the 1930s and again in 1967. These changes were intentionally made to open the chapel for modern usage—replacing pews with individual chairs, removing the choir benches from the transept, and building a larger altar table for placement in the former choir area rather than in the apse. Brief mention of the chapel history was included in histories of the seminary written in 1997 by Matthew Caldwell.³⁵ He describes only one pair of windows in the nave the pairing of F. D. Maurice is theologically contrasted with John Keble to illustrate the EDS tolerance for diverging viewpoints. None of these authors included a listing of the windows with rationale and date of installation to enhance the material in Patterson. The library archives and the development office have old photos of previous chapel arrangements but little information on the funding and purpose of various windows and banners.

Lawrence described the intentional changes in theological education since the chapel was designed. These changes were begun before the stained glass windows were

³⁴ Patterson's history of the chapel is quoted in text and footnotes in Matthew Peter Caldwell, *A History of Episcopal Divinity School: In Celebration of Its Twenty-Fifth Anniversary*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Episcopal Divinity School, 2000), 40.

³⁵ Caldwell, 45 and 80

designed and installed yet did not seem to affect the choices of windows. The approaches to theological education were novel in their day reflecting the theories of Dean George Zabriskie Gray and continued by Dean William Lawrence. The windows as installed loosely followed the Faculty plan for the windows from 1911 but essentially created a memorial to the Mason family.³⁶

Stained glass windows are the primary visual images in Saint John's Memorial Chapel. In this section I explore each window in Saint John's Memorial Chapel. I used inventory methods such as taking photos for reference when writing, looking at symbolic buildings in the windows and their meaning in the life of the person depicted, and reflecting on the historical accuracy of the windows (such as Augustine's skin tone as a North African). Much of the detail of the windows is explained in David Siegenthaler's one-page guide to the Chapel. The windows were installed in the years just before 1911 when the chapel was funded largely by the George Mason family according to a memorial plaque in the chapel, with additional windows honoring the Gray family.

Windows in the apse show figures from Scripture and the early church. Opposite these windows down the long axis of the chapel sanctuary is the west gable where this historical era is shown again. The five Hebrew prophets in the windows in the north apse are Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The five "doctors of the early church" in windows in the south apse are Athanasius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, and Ambrose. The center apse has five windows that represent the Savior and the four

³⁶ See original letters in EDS Chapel archives in care of Siegenthaler.

Evangelists (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John). The Savior is shown a second time in the triple west window (in the gable over the current entrance doors) flanked by John the Evangelist and Paul the Apostle. To date I have not unearthed explanations as to any particular theological teaching or symbolism intended in these windows showing selected scriptural figures and only some of the early church fathers.

In contrast the windows along the nave were selected to pair figures in church history with specific intentions on symbolism for theological education. In the north transept the pairing of Elizabeth of Hungary and the Archangel Michael creates a commentary on how the life of social service joins with the life of spiritual warfare. This pairing raises curiosity as to where in church history it was necessary to undertake spiritual warfare in preparation for social service. Perhaps this occurs in putting others above self or in battling one's resistance to giving up riches in order to walk with the poor. The "poor" children shown with Elizabeth are white with bright blond curly hair and appear happy and healthy. This window does not address the mission activity of the church as empire among dark-skinned peoples or the undernourished in any land. Directly opposite in the south transept (now over the piano) the pairing of Benedict and Francis joins the saint of the cloister, standing for the ministry of quiet study, with the saint of the country road and the town standing for the ministry of preaching and pastoral service. This pairing seems logical as quiet study is typical preparation for preaching.

The next pairing in the nave is of Abbess Hilda with the Venerable Bede who are both simply described as representative of the early history of the English church. This seems an odd couple to represent all of the Elizabethan era and the Tudors and Stuarts – a

somewhat eclectic and politically safe choice. The pairing of Anselm of Canterbury and John Wyclif likewise shares a single symbolism as they both show forth the inquiring mind and the desire to make the truth known to the people. They lived at different times and spoke to vastly different audiences yet they do fit the category as listed.

As a duo the pairing of George Berkeley and John Wesley represents the work of English churchmen in this country, and the next pairing of John Keble and Frederick Denison Maurice represents the two Oxford Movements. Siegenthaler calls it an “iconographic” pairing of William of Wykeham and Cranmer probably because they represent very different contributions to historical theology. William of Wykeham was builder of a great school and a great college, representing education, and Cranmer was maker of the English prayer book and martyr of the Reformation, representing that new era. Perhaps once the pattern of paired windows was set the later pairings were put together for the sake of form more than function. As Siegenthaler explains “A small inscription at the top of the window (a bishop must be blameless: a steward of God) suggests a pairing of bishops, but that inscription may only heighten the ambiguity.”³⁷

The symbolism of the windows in Saint John’s chapel clearly states that the individual figure is an example of a group of people in church history working in that field of endeavor. The windows are not meant to glorify the individuals rather to exemplify the living out of aspects of theological education. Thus Elizabeth of Hungary shows social service just as she was popular in churches during the social gospel

³⁷ Siegenthaler, 1

movement as the epitome of social service.³⁸ A local church, St Peter's Episcopal in Central Square in Cambridge, even has a chapel trimmed in glorious blue and dedicated to Elizabeth rather than to the Virgin Mary as might be expected. Another example is a church in Holdrege, Nebraska named St Elizabeth for Elizabeth of Hungary rather than Elizabeth, the cousin of the Virgin Mary.³⁹ St Elizabeth's was built in about the same time frame as this window was installed. The pairing of Elizabeth with Archangel Michael may seem odd to modern sensibilities when Julian of Norwich is renowned for spiritual warfare but Siegenthaler is quick to point out that in the late 19th century Lady Julian was not a popular topic for seminary study.

Other Forms of Visual Art in Chapel and on Campus

A more recent addition that complements the stained glass windows in Saint John's chapel makes visible one aspect of Native American tradition. [The Kiva chapel reflects the tradition of southwest Native Americans (per Janet King, Kiva is the meeting room). Icons in the Kiva chapel represent Mary and baby Jesus as Madonna and Child (icon from Building Bridges, Inc.).⁴⁰ Another Madonna and Child photo is mounted in a frame on the altar. A blanket with Southwest designs covers the old entrance door. The color scheme of red-brown and reds for the altar frontal, carpet, and throughout the small chapel reflect southwestern landscapes and rocks. The Kiva chapel is reclamation of the

³⁸ The Rev. Dr. David Siegenthaler, personal conversation, March 2010.

³⁹ The Rev. Larry Jaynes, personal conversation, February 16, 2010.

⁴⁰ Bridge Building Images, Inc: Religious Cards and Gifts.

<http://www.bridgebuilding.com/>

former tower entrance—a small area with doors on three sides leading south into the nave, east into the transept, and west up stairs to the organ loft and tower (and downstairs into the undercroft).

The votive candle rack with crucifix adjacent to the Kiva chapel incorporates the breadth of Episcopal liturgical practice in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. The votive area is furnished with the small prayer kneeler draped with the school banner where the EDS President and Dean makes her private prayers. The chairs near the votives and in the Kiva chapel are natural tone blonde wood chairs that are arranged facing each other, facing the Kiva altar, or facing out into the main sanctuary.

After the stained glass windows and the Kiva chapel was added an assortment of freestanding banners for the chapel. I searched out banners around campus to get a sense of their possible unity of purpose and style. I found three banners on “universal” or welcoming themes include those that say “A New Thing,” “How Exalted is Your Name in All the World” (with a globe pictured in abstract) and “Coworkers for the Reign of God” (with a stained glass abstract of rays of colors). Additional banners without words include Creation (reverse side is Dream Catcher), Dream Catcher (reverse side is creation), EDS School (circa 1974 with merger of ETS and Philadelphia Divinity School (PDS). The largest banner was a class gift called ‘Streams Flowing into River’ consisting of a set of five panels (with colors in order on the reverse sides to create a rainbow). This banner was inspired by the WOW Welcoming Our Witness conference which was the first national ecumenical conference of the Christian LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual,

Transgendered) community held in Dekalb, Illinois in the summer of 1999 and the first of its kind.⁴¹

Many other images are found around the EDS campus in architectural symbols, sculpture, portraits, and icons. The meaning of the architecture in the chapel is significantly of unity. The entwined circles in window above the Gray Room door, and in wood buttresses above the former rood screen, speak to a Celtic influence of three rings. The rings also are shown on framed embroidery panels of Ecclesiastical Symbols from the Philadelphia Altar Guild (stored in chapel storage room near safe) The rose window above the gray room door matches one in the tower and predates the Gray Room addition according to Patterson.⁴² In the Gray Room above the door to the nave is a Della Robbia sculpture replica. Additional patterned stained glass windows are in the Gray room including some hidden behind the vestment closets, the Sacristy, and the former robe room (more recently called the drum room). Four large rood screens in the narthex help to control drafts and acoustics,⁴³ yet give a feel of a certain historical period from medieval times. A number of processional crosses depict very different Christologies (Christ the King, Crucifix, EDS cross), while a very large Philadelphia Cross from the reredos at PDS is mounted on the chapel wall. Assorted crosses for altar and processions are stored and are used in worship on occasion from the Chapel storage room, robe room, and sacristy.

⁴¹ The Rev. Dr. Joan M. Martin, personal communication, April 28, 2010.

⁴² Lloyd George Patterson, *History and Guide: St. John's Memorial Chapel, Cambridge, Mass.* (Cambridge, Mass: Episcopal Theological School, 1972) 11.

⁴³ Patterson, 10-11.

Paintings and portraits on campus speak to some anti-oppression visibility. An icon depicting scenes from the life of Jonathan Daniels dates from 1967 and is permanently mounted below the organ on the wall of the chapel. Directly opposite the icon hangs a large formal portrait in glass frame of Absalom Jones in preaching attire. Complementing these two pieces from the civil rights era is a Martin Luther King, Jr. Portrait (large postage stamp image)—loaned by Joan M. Martin annually since the time of Acting President Ben Matlock.⁴⁴ Additional African Diaspora Paintings in Wright Hall are from the series called Journeys in the Spirit by Bernard Hoyes (purchase was suggested by Joan M. Martin under Acting President Matlock. The paintings are in vibrant colors and include African Diaspora, Afro-Caribbean, Afro-American, and Cargo cults.

Meditation cushions in the apse were added as alternative worship space in Saint John's chapel by The Rev. Renee Hill, Ph.D. when she was head of the Feminist Liberation Theology (FLT) program at EDS.⁴⁵ The cushions are used for Buddhist-style meditation and other contemplative and meditative spiritual worship in the chapel.

Two liturgical vestments for clergy do speak to women in the church: a blue Advent Stole showing a very pregnant Mary (a gift to EDS from President Katherine Ragsdale at her installation in October 2009) and a white Easter/Pentecost stole with names of women from the Bible. These are available for use by priests presiding at worship in the chapel.

⁴⁴ Caldwell, 62 mentions Ben Matlock as Acting President of EDS in 1998.

⁴⁵ The Rev. Dr. Joan M. Martin, personal communications, December 2009.

Images visible on the grounds of Episcopal Divinity School are the large window depicting scenes from John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* as a Rose Window in Tyler Room (a memorial gift), and a Peace Pole (Native American) in the development office in disrepair.⁴⁶ A sculpture of Jesus at Gethsemane is in the landscaped area just north of Wright Hall and is noted as having once stood outside the chapel entry.⁴⁷ Additional art existing on the EDS campus was identified in conversation with Laura Parillo⁴⁸ including a photo of chapel with choir stalls facing each other which hangs in development office and shows the earlier stone altar and seminarians gathered for worship. Another historical photo of the Philadelphia Cross moving from Philadelphia to our chapel adds to the significant meaning of that cross in the EDS chapel as a sign of unity between the two schools.

Finally a large barbed wire sculpture called "Man in the Bramble Bush" hangs in the basement library stairwell for safety concerns – it formerly hung on the center panel of the wall at the east end of Washburn refectory.⁴⁹ Siegenthaler relates that this sculpture apparently was removed from the refectory because it referred to "Man" (and seemingly excluded women) and symbolized the thorny difficulties of the task of theological education in the twentieth century. He relates that a golden dove was later added to soften the sculpture's message.

⁴⁶ Denise Maccioli, personal communications, February 2010

⁴⁷ Laura Parillo, personal communications, January 2010

⁴⁸ Laura Parillo, personal communications, December 2009.

⁴⁹ Photo courtesy of David Siegenthaler from ETS News, Vol. 55 May 1963 No. 3.

The net impact of all the visual images in Saint John's chapel and on the campus of Episcopal Divinity School is a noticeable absence of women and African-Americans. The stained glass windows show mostly white men. There are only two women as Elizabeth of Hungary from the 14th century and Abbess Hilda from the 7th century. There are no windows depicting African-Americans (even though Augustine of Hippo was from North Africa and may have been darker complexioned). The windows focus on early and reformation characters from the Church of England. No people are included from the historical era after the Episcopal church was formed in the USA.

It is difficult to get a sense of the intent of the current EDS collection of images around campus. Perhaps a guidebook for visitors and an archived acquisition plan would help. Many of the banners undoubtedly have meaning to the donors and a short text as to that meaning would be most helpful in understanding the intended message. The dates and contact person for newer items, including donors or budget category for all items, would be a useful summary of the intentional growth of the Episcopal Divinity School collection of banners, sculptures, paintings, and other memorials around campus.

One of the missing representations at EDS is professional African-American women throughout the span of history that defines the Episcopal church in the United States of America. The Kiva chapel and some banners speak to the Native American presence, the meditation cushions may speak to some aspects of Asian presence, and the paintings mostly outside of chapel show African Diaspora. Specifically African-American presence is seen in portrait images of one woman, Bishop Barbara Harris, and two men, Absalom Jones and Martin Luther King, Jr. The small collection of black art is

notable in the administration building but without explanation and prominent display of intent, I fear that the importance of inclusion is powerful only to Africans and African-Americans and not consciously recognized by the rest of the school.

CHAPTER 4

THREE EXAMPLES OF VISUAL IMAGES BEYOND SAINT JOHN'S MEMORIAL CHAPEL

Each time I described my proposal for this study and entered into conversation, someone mentioned another existing example of anti-oppression visual art. These examples yielded a huge amount of historical material including the hopes of the planners as well as the artists as creators. A few churches in the Episcopal tradition and in other denominations have visual art showing different skin colors on various themes. These churches include Saint Cyprian's, Saint George's Cathedral in South Africa, and Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Haiti.

Churches are still places of theological education and although the degree of literacy and involvement of the laity have changed since medieval time, for many people today worship spaces are a place of moral education—often subliminal—through visual art. Church windows reflect the social location of the previous congregation. Local churches illustrate the differences in moral education arising from their historical contexts as was seen at Saint John's chapel at Episcopal Divinity School in Chapter 2 and will be explored primarily through examples from Saint Cyprian's church in Roxbury–Boston (1922), Saint George's Anglican Cathedral in South Africa (center panel in 1979), and at Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Haiti (murals in 1950s).

Saint Cyprian's Episcopal Church, Roxbury Crossing

Saint Cyprian's Episcopal church in Roxbury Crossing⁵⁰ has stained glass windows with non-white people of historical significance within African Diaspora. These include Sojourner Truth, Marcus Garvey, Alexander Crummell, and Bishop James Holly. A large black cast iron pot with three legs hangs from the rafters in the middle of the sanctuary. The pot may symbolize community or perhaps freedom as a similar one is shown in the window with Sojourner Truth. The meaning may be known best by church members. All of the stained glass windows depict black people of historical significance to the church and black society. Unfortunately there is no guidebook available to explain why these particular windows were created and what the figures and settings meant for the donors and the congregation. The children's area provides fabric dolls of many skin colors and the walls of the youth area have murals and posters black people including Michael Jackson as a young entertainer. The church school classroom and chapel areas continue the focus on black role models with wooden figures for storytelling and children's books featuring modern Black heritage in the 20th to 21st century.

The visual theme at St Cyprian's seems to be community. The church was built during the historical timeframe of the Black Renaissance and Racial Uplift of 1920s. Many of the church founders came to America in the large-scale immigration of Afro-Caribbean into northeastern USA and brought with them a proud heritage of self-liberation. A second strong visual theme in this church is justice (the struggle for it) as honored in windows showing black leaders (male and female) of the time up to the

⁵⁰ Saint Cyprian's Episcopal Church, Roxbury Crossing, Boston.
<http://www.stcyprians.org/> (accessed February 15, 2010).

building of the church. Both secular and church groups are represented from the black community because in many cases both emphases were aspects of a single organization with concurrent programs in religion and social betterment. The stained glass windows bear phrases such as NAACP precursor (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Masons, underground railroad, and UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association). The windows represent not only the United States but also nations of the African Diaspora in the Caribbean such as Haiti.

Saint George's Anglican Cathedral, Cape Town, South Africa

The figures and symbolism of the stained glass windows in Saint George's Cathedral in South Africa have been described in detail in a sermon by The Rev. Chris Chivers. I focus on a few key visual elements of the great West Window that illustrate how that particular visual art shapes the worship space. This central panel was installed in 1979 and is testimony to the potential to update windows from earlier eras.

According to the order of service for the dedication of the east and west liberation panels to the window in 2001:

the top half of the central panel of the Great West Window at St George's Cathedral is dominated by the figure of the triumphant Christ with outstretched hands – suggesting his power to overcome evil in its many forms. This Christ is black – a visual counterpart to the white Christ of Calvary above the High Altar – and thus ensures that within the Cathedral images of Christ represent the fullness of humanity..... Taken as a whole, the central panel places considerable emphasis on the redeeming actions of Christ in co-operation with ordinary women and men – which are to continue in the contemporary transformation of individuals and societies.⁵¹

⁵¹ The Rev. Chris Chiver, “The Great West Window: Genesis and Iconography,”

The central panel of Saint George's Cathedral apparently contains the only black figure while the liberation panels rely on symbols of moral virtues and the battle between good and evil – interestingly expressed as light and darkness. As described in the service booklet from 2001, Chivers mentions that:

Each of the panels takes its inspiration from a star of light permeating the whole and refracted through the figures of two liberators or conquerors of evil – St George, the Cathedral's patron (left panel) and St Michael, the warrior saint (right panel). The darkness and evil conquered by this light is represented on the left through a dragon – the dragon of apartheid – and on the right through the beast with seven heads. This latter representation of the seven deadly sins is a telling reminder of the need for every human being to overcome the evil within them.⁵²

Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral, Port Au Prince, Haiti

Before being damaged by the earthquake of 2010, the murals from Haiti were located in the chapel of St. Mary with the separate panels set together seamlessly despite having been created by a small group of artists. Rather than historical figures as at St Cyprian's, these murals show Bible themes with black characters—including the angels and Jesus. The themes pictured are the temptation of Adam and Eve, annunciation, nativity, baptism of our Lord, crucifixion, ascension, transfiguration, casting out of the money changers, and feast of Cana in Galilee. Some women are included, often facing away from the viewer especially if seen without upper garments, yet men predominate in

Introductory article, order of service for the dedication of the liberation panels to complete the Great West Window, 26 August 2001 – based on a sermon preached by the Rev. Chris Chivers at the Cathedral Mass, 15 July 2001.

<http://www.stgeorgescathedral.com/window.html> (accessed February 15, 2010).

⁵²

Ibid, online text.

each scene.⁵³ So far I have not found records of the decision to show well-known scenes from Jesus' life and to populate those scenes with crowds of people with varying shades of darker skin.

The contrast between Holy Trinity Cathedral in Haiti and Saint John's chapel is striking. Not only are all of the Bible figures in Saint John's chapel white but all are shown individually as in portrait mode rather than in group scenes or in the act of doing ministry. This difference speaks to a cultural theology difference in focus between community and individualism – perhaps more a function of the timing for chapel construction (1910 compared to 1950) than a wider statement.

In keeping with the difficult history of blacks in the Episcopal church as reflective of the African Diaspora, the images in church windows seem to be either all black (such as [St Cyprian's and the Episcopal Cathedral in Haiti) or all white (such as Saint John's Chapel, and most church windows in this country). Only one instance shows Christ once each as white and black (Saint George's Cathedral in South Africa). The multitude of reasons for such separation in congregation membership, reflected in church windows and symbols in worship space, are amply described in articles and books about struggles for recognition by African-Americans in the Episcopal church.⁵⁴

⁵³ Holy Trinity Cathedral, Port Au Prince, Haiti. "Mural Photos and History." <http://webster.edu/~corbetre/haiti/art/holytrinity.htm> for text and history
<http://haitiforever.com/windowsonhaiti/trinity.shtml> for photos

⁵⁴ See extensive history in texts by Rodman, Lewis, and Bragg.

Ecclesiastical Symbols in Visual Art

Symbols of the early church in Roman times and in Celtic areas during the lifetimes of the “church fathers” fit well with the stained glass windows of those men. However the symbols of the early African-American Episcopal church in this country are also valid representations for churches in this country and need to be shown in windows representing African-American “church mothers” from times of enslavement until today. Samples of symbols of the church in needlework from 1973 are shown in two panels preserved in frames in the archives of Philadelphia Divinity School and stored in Saint John’s chapel. Each panel shows embroidery of a set of “ecclesiastical symbols” and the caption indicates that the samplers were made by the Altar Guild—listing each woman’s name as a married title. Apparently a project was at hand to experiment with these symbols somewhere in the church frontals or vestments to reclaim the symbols of early Christianity (such as interlocked circles, the lamb, a dove, and flames of fire). These comprehensive symbols contrast sharply with the iron pot that hangs symbolically from the center joist in Saint Cyprian’s church in Roxbury Crossing. The ecclesiastical symbols also are popular in vestments and banners offered at many web sites and in catalogs, yet none have particular meaning for African-Americans as historical reminders of contributions to American church history.

In a few instances the recognition of the vital contributions of African-Americans to American church history is recognized in memorials or in clergy vestments for special occasions. This awareness of significant African-American history is demonstrated at Christ Church Episcopal in Cambridge where a proposal has been made for new plaque

to honor the event when Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke there like the one for George Washington's visit.⁵⁵ Also at Christ Church the clergy stoles and altar frontal are replaced with Kente cloth for the Martin Luther king, Jr. civic holiday each February. All of the clergy (white and black) wear matching Kente cloth stoles in a powerful statement of solidarity and respect for African-American church history. Similarly in the Roman Catholic tradition and for liberation theology a focal area has developed for clergy vestments especially stoles and matching altar frontals for Black Hispanic Saints such as Martin of Porres, Juan Diego, and the Virgin of Guadalupe.⁵⁶ This limited selection of banners and textiles can be found through liturgical supply houses and increases the likelihood of mixing of images of black and white people within the same church. In addition Bridge Building Images⁵⁷ offers custom designs for icons through their web site. This custom design resulted in a collection of Native American Icons that is available as are assorted women saints but the only African-American icon to date is Absalom Jones.

The mismatch in the church windows between historical accuracy and symbolic philanthropy comes up again when someone recognizes the faces of the donors' family in the windows as models and also notices that the windows are not realistic in setting or clothing. However the colors remain quite pretty and the workmanship is impressive as a gift to God's glory. The windows cannot be seen only as beauty if that carries for some people a connotation of exclusion based on physical attributes. There may not have been

⁵⁵ Richard Parker, Sermon, Christ Church Cambridge, (Episcopal) January 24, 2010.

⁵⁶ Slabbinck catalog for Morehouse Church Supplies, a division of Church Publishing Incorporated. 2009-2010. www.morehousechurchsupplies.org. (accessed March 2010).

⁵⁷ Bridge Building Images, Inc., Religious Cards and Gifts.
<http://www.bridgebuilding.com/>

intent to portray true moral models in visual historical stories; windows may have been more about status of the donor and wealth of the congregation than about Christian education for moral behavior. Yet the windows in worship space are an integral part of the impact of worship on participants and can deeply influence the way people understand how humans can be Gospel messengers.⁵⁸

Churches like Saint Cyprian's and other historically black churches (especially of Caribbean influence) that included black people in their windows from 1920s spoke that Gospel message. However the murals and windows almost exclusively show black men dominating the crowd scenes or as individual figures and black women are still not visible. Those churches had enough wealth and status to add stained glass and also the moral and historical consciousness to insist on inclusive figures. White donors in South Africa even included a black Jesus at Saint George's Cathedral. Perhaps making Jesus and all the disciples and even Mary black would be stretching truth the other way.⁵⁹ However to neglect to show African-American women adds another level of exclusion even within the black community. Somewhere there is a middle meeting ground to honor African-Americans, men and women, together with historical white figures as one in Christ's body.

⁵⁸ Russ Pringle, personal communications, January 2010.

⁵⁹ Charles Wynder, Jr, personal communications, January 2010.

CHAPTER 5

VISUAL IMAGES OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN FOR WORSHIP SPACE

Throughout this study I became convinced that the answer to the question “Who is missing in existing images?” is African-Americans (from Chapters 1 and 3) and women (from Chapters 2 and 4). In my research it became apparent that to explore all oppressed groups was much too large a topic for this study. As I followed the thread of oral histories and existing visual art, the trend of African-American exclusion became clear. Within this trend there were more men than women held up as significant historical figures from African-American heritage. This led to my selected application of this project is as a process for parishes to design their own “annexes” of people windows representing African-American women important to the Episcopal church in this country (Table 1).

Criteria for Selecting African-American Women

As I began to identify which African-American women to include in a sample of new images for worship space I noticed the contributions of Dr. Irene V. Jackson to the music in hymnals used by the Episcopal church. She became my test case for the design of a new image. When I compared two hymnal supplements commonly called LEVAS⁶⁰ and LEVAS II⁶¹ I found evidence for a disparity between the name-recognition for men

⁶⁰ Irene V. Jackson, comp. and ed., *LEVAS. Lift Every Voice and Sing: A Collection of Afro-American Spirituals and Other Songs*, A Complement to Hymnal 1940 (New York: Church Hymnal, 1981).

⁶¹ Horace Clarence Boyer, ed., *LEVAS II. Lift Every Voice and Sing II: An African American Hymnal*, A Supplement to Hymnal 1982 (New York: Church Hymnal, 1993).

and women within the Episcopal tradition. The first LEVAS was titled a “songbook” and was edited by Dr. Irene Jackson as a noted expert well published on African-American music as a complement to the existing hymnal. The subsequent collection only twelve years later was designated as an approved hymnal supplement and credited to Dr. Horace Boyer, also a noted African-American musician. However it is LEVAS II that now rests in the pews of churches as “The African-American Hymnal” and Dr. Irene Jackson’s contributions as an accomplished African-American Christian woman and scholar are largely unknown by congregations.

This trend in understatement of contributions of African-Americans in music underscores that in liturgical art. In the preface to LEVAS the Rt. Rev. John Burgess, retired Bishop of Massachusetts and African-American man said, “in bringing this gift [of music]...Black Episcopalians, along with other races, nationalities and ethnic groups who have accepted Jesus Christ as Lord, make their own rightful contribution to the catholicity of the church, and continue the apostolic injunction to sing ‘with grace in your hearts to the Lord.’”⁶² Extrapolating Burgess’ comments to include artistic expression, the need for visual representations of African-Americans is apparent. I felt challenged to suggest new anti-oppression visual art about African-American women from the 19th and 20th centuries to recognize women with Christian worldviews or cosmologies.

Burgess’ comments confirmed my compelling desire to explore African-American women as the subjects for a new image collection. Based on my learning

⁶² Jackson, Preface.

from tracing the story of Dr. Irene V. Jackson in church music I set my scope to include about ten or twenty African-American women as a project of manageable size (though still daunting). Ten or twenty new visual images would allow me to select a range of women with enough depth in moral-historical contributions to provide ample discussion at a parish or community level. Ideally each new image would express the African-American woman's importance in Christian church history. I narrowed the scope further to the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States of America to maximize the potential lure for today's Episcopal congregations in this country.

The next phase was for me to identify and research the African-American women and to design for each woman a window or banner. I developed a framework for selecting a group of women based on the guidelines for visual imagery from four sources explored in previous chapters of this study. From Margaret Miles I captured her three spectra in Chapter 2 of this study. I incorporated Michael Battle's two foci of the sacred and political were seen together in worship space, also in Chapter 2. I claimed the value of the eight symbolic pairings listed by Siegenthaler in Saint John's chapel in Chapter 3 of this study. Finally I examined the "Lesser Feasts and Fasts" of the Episcopal church for African-American women who already have days of observance yet may not be well known across the national church.

I identified five essential design elements for each new image. The first three design elements focus on the individual woman as a representative of the larger African-American community. The fourth and fifth design elements draw the woman into visual unity with the African Diaspora, using colors and symbols that are familiar to African-

Americans in a continuum since arrival in this country. I derived these thrusts for designing new images as a synthesis from reading Siegenthaler⁶³ on the symbolism of windows in Saint John's chapel beyond the individual named figure. The suitability of this concept for this study was reinforced for me by the Introduction to LEVAS⁶⁴ where it was explained that when "I" occurs in a spiritual it means a whole community rather than an individual for African-Americans, and also by Peter Paris regarding African ethics where one means all.⁶⁵

The first design element is the woman's likeness or portrait in historical clothing (or official garb such as academic robes or clerical vestments), second is a symbol of her contribution to Christianity (such as a familiar book or a building or a geographic setting), and third is an inscription of her name and key dates. The fourth design element for each window or banner is a color scheme for pairs of windows (or for this set, or to separate the 19th from the 20th centuries) and the fifth element is a series of inset symbols (black iron cooking pot, UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) flag, Episcopal flag, USA flag, music notes, gavel, lectern) that may repeat in any number of the new images. These symbols may help the observer to fit the women into subgroups as artists, writers, public speakers, ordained clergy, or other categorization as befits any given adult forum or focus for viewing the group of new windows or banners.

⁶³ David Siegenthaler. *St John's Memorial Chapel: Nave, Transept, and Apse Windows*. (Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, MA. 2007, 1.

⁶⁴ Jackson, Introduction.

⁶⁵ Paris, Peter. *The Spirituality of African Peoples: The Search for a Common Moral Discourse*, (Augsburg: Fortress Press, 1994) 111.

Groupings of African –American Women for New Images

As a framework for selecting which women to include in the new images I synthesized methods from previous studies of visual art in worship space. Margaret Miles described three levels of engaging with the visual arts that combine to provide a solid framework for interpreting the meaning of stained glass windows in churches. The three ways are 1) acting as art historian, 2) using the image, and 3) critically using the image. For the new images I chose to do the third spectra of critically using the image to make a statement rather than to only represent an African-American woman either as a pleasing to the eye in its form and inspirational function, or as part of a historically recognized style of textile arts (appliqué, quilting, painting, or other technique or particular artist). I incorporated Battle's intertwining of the sacred and the political – also mentioned by Susan White in her chapter in the same text by Runkle – throughout my evaluation of the Christian basis for many of the African-American women's political work in the name of the Gospel call to service.

I condensed the symbolism of the windows in Saint John's chapel into a smaller list of categories fitting African-American women. My working mix of old and new symbolisms are 1) Social service with spiritual warfare, 2) Quiet study with preaching and pastoral service, 3) Early history of enslaved African-Americans, 4) Inquiring mind and the desire to make the truth known to the people (public speaking), 5) Evangelizing and church or mission planting, 6) reform in the Episcopal church – ordination of women, 7) Historical theology as educators with social reformers, and finally 8) Hebrew prophets, Jesus and Evangelists/Apostles, Early church fathers. The eight symbolic categories are

beyond the scope of this study and will hopefully be addressed in the future – as they are rich with possibility for studying figures of African origin such as Monnica, the early church mother of Saint Augustine, and Hagar in Genesis in the Hebrew Scriptures.

In my first group I selected eight African-American women (all deceased), six of whom are recognized for lesser feasts in the Episcopal church. Five of these women lived and contributed to church history in the 18th or 19th centuries including Phillis Wheatley (colonial era poet and letter writer), Jarena Lee (first African-American woman preacher), Sojourner Truth, Harriet Ross Tubman, and Maria W. Stewart. Three women were influential in the early 20th century (Sarah and Anne Delaney (honored together), Anna Julia Cooper, and Elizabeth Evelyn Wright).

I chose my second group of eleven African-American women, also all deceased, to capture the twentieth century literary and political contributions of women with strong Christian identity or substantial support from the Christian community. These women include Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Mary McLeod Bethune, Nannie Helen Burroughs, Zora Neale Hurston, Barbara Jordan, Pauli Murray, and Verna Dozier. I also include here a set of four little girls who I have named “The Birmingham Martyrs”: Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Cynthia Wesley, and Carol Robertson.

I chose five living women for my third and last group of African-American women for new visual images. These women already have had tremendous influence on American church history in their lifetimes. These women are Barbara Harris, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Sandye A. Wilson, Katie Geneva Cannon, and Irene Jackson-Brown

(her current name). Hopefully other names will be added to this list as this project is implemented.

Design Elements for Four New Visual Images

I developed prototypes of new visual images for four African-American women. These examples incorporate the frameworks that I identified for the visual arts and fit different symbolic groupings to reflect communities of influence within the church in America – especially as already approved commemorations that seem to be underused by many Episcopal congregations. I included three women from who appear on the church calendar (Sojourner Truth, Harriet Ross Tubman, and Maria Stewart) and one additional woman who is still alive (Dr. Irene V. Jackson-Brown). These examples set the pattern for development of banners for the other women in the future.

1) Sojourner Truth lived from lived from 1797 to 1883 and was best known for being an evangelist and founder of homeless shelters. Her church or faith group affiliation was Methodist. She symbolically represents (per Siegenthaler #4) an inquiring mind and the desire to make the truth known to the people (church speaking). Her sacred/political interface showed through in her work as an evangelist and church speaker. She spoke at numerous church gatherings, both black and white, quoting the Bible extensively from memory, and speaking against slavery and for an improved legal status for women. The speech for which she is best known is called, "Ain't I a Woman?". It was delivered in response to a male speaker who had been arguing that the refusal of votes for women was grounded in a wish to shelter women from the harsh realities of political life. She replied,

with great effect, that she was a woman, and that society had not sheltered her. She became known as "the Miriam of the Latter Exodus."" On her proposed banner her icon or pictorial emblem (per Miles #3 art as image) is the Quaker emblem of a single burning candle because she escaped slavery with the aid of Quaker Abolitionists. In the background is a representation of how she was a citizen of heaven, and a wanderer on earth. Her historical clothing is a white shawl across her shoulders over a dark long dress with a white cap covering her hair. Her representative colors are from the American flag because she insisted that African-American women claim their freedoms. The quote on the image might read "God is my father and his name is Truth", or "Isabella" which was her given name as an enslaved woman.⁶⁶

2) Harriet Ross Tubman lived from 1820-1913 and was known for helping enslaved people escape to freedom on the underground railroad. Her church group affiliation was Christian and she was known to be deeply impressed by the Bible narrative of God's deliverance of the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt, and it became the basis of her belief that it was God's will to deliver slaves in America out of their bondage, and that it was her duty to help accomplish this. In 1844, she escaped to Canada, but returned to help others escape. She symbolically represents (per Siegenthaler #3) 'early history of enslaved African-Americans' including interdenominational American church history as she worked with white Quakers. Her sacred/political interface showed through during the War of 1861-65 when she joined the Northern Army as a cook and a nurse and a spy,

⁶⁶ Lesser Feasts and Fasts. http://satucket.com/lectionary/Alpha_list.htm and <http://www.io.com/~kellywp/CalndrsIndexes/TxtIndexLFF.html> (accessed April 1, 2010)

In her proposed banner her icon or pictorial emblem is a red and white maple leaf emblem for Canada and her signature emblem that is a rifle. After the war, she worked to shelter orphans and elderly poor persons, and to advance the status of women and blacks. In the background might be a landscape of the hill country of Maryland with woods and fields. Her historical clothing is a long dark button-front dress, no head covering and her hair braided across the top. She might hold some sort of walking stick with stars in a night sky above her head. Her representative colors are red and white for Canada as the land of safety and freedom. The quote on the image reads "the Moses of her People."⁶⁷

3) **Maria W. Stewart** lived from 1803-1879 and was most influential while living and working in Boston, Massachusetts from 1831 to 1833. Her church or faith group affiliation was African Methodist Episcopal Zion and Black Methodist and she was known for using the Bible to back up her arguments. She symbolically represents (per Siegenthaler #4) 'an inquiring mind and the desire to make the truth known to the people' (public speaking) because she gave public speeches to racially mixed audiences of men and women, which was unheard of in her time. Her sacred/political interface showed through in her work as the first black woman journalist. In her proposed banner her icon or pictorial emblem (per Miles #3 art as image) is iron pots and kettles buried under a newspaper that reads *Liberator* "Ladies Department." In the background is a building where she spoke (Boston's Franklin Hall). She would be shown stepping across a threshold and through a gate or door. Her historical clothing is a white lace shoulder

⁶⁷ Lesser Feasts and Fasts. http://satucket.com/lectionary/Alpha_list.htm and <http://www.io.com/~kellywp/CalndrsIndexes/TxtIndexLFF.html> (accessed April 1, 2010)

cape over a neutral print dress with a black cap covering her hair. Her representative colors are from the American flag because she insisted that African-American women claim their freedoms. The quote on the image reads "How long shall the fair daughters of Africa be compelled to bury their minds and talents beneath a load of iron pots and kettles?"⁶⁸

4) Irene V. Jackson-Brown was born in 1910 and is recognized here for her influential work from 1978-1981 while living and working in Manhattan, New York (New York City) at the National Headquarters of the Episcopal Church of the USA as it was then known. She currently serves on the board at the Mercer School of Theology on Long Island, New York. Her academic attire reflects her education and achievements as Doctor of Philosophy degree in Music and university professor. Her church or faith group affiliation is Episcopal lay person. Her symbolism (per Siegenthaler #7) is 'historical theology as educators with social reformers' in recognition of her inclusion of African-American song in the liturgy of the Episcopal Church. Her sacred/political message is standing up for African-American visibility and contributions in a historically white mainline denomination. In her proposed banner her icon or pictorial emblem is a brown book cover with a G clef music symbol from her songbook LEVAS. Her representative colors are the red, black, and green of the UNIA or Black Liberation flag because she is the woman closest in this group to the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Older African-Americans may recognize the colors of the Black Liberation Flag also

⁶⁸ Maria Stewart at <http://www.goddesscafe.com/FEMJOUR/stewart.html> and Susan Roberson, "Maria Stewart and the Rhetoric of Mobility," in *Journal of International Women's Studies* Vol 4 #3 May 2003: 56-61. http://www.bridgew.edu/soas/jiws/May03/Maria_Stewart.pdf (accessed April 2010).

called the Pan-African Flag (Garvey, 1921) and that the LEVAS title comes from the first line of from what has been the Negro National Anthem (Johnson, 1905). The symbolism of the colors and choice of title text may be less familiar to younger generations and to people less schooled in African-American history. This schooling has not been included in Christian education within the church for the most part and therefore leaves unchallenged a visual message about who is important, who is to be honored, and who we are to model our lives after as churchgoers in these worship spaces.

I end this chapter with a picture that has come into my mind of a long procession of banners waving gently as they are carried into a large worship space. Each banner shows the portrait and symbols of an African-American woman who represents the many who have influenced American church history. As each banner is turned and set into the waiting stand, the worship walls of the impersonal space seem to draw inward. It is as if we the participants are being tucked within the safe billowing skirts of my mother's mothers. There within the newly created worship circle we begin the Liturgy of the Word and proceed to share in Holy Communion. All the while we sing the songs and tell the scripture stories that echo the sayings of our foremothers and contain all the folk wisdom, all the cautionary tales, and all of the deep abiding trust in God that has carried African-American women like us through to this day. In that circle at last I will have honored my mothers and lived their dreams. In that circle at last I will see myself reflected in the faces of others so much like me that I cannot help but know that I too reveal the beautiful glory of God in my own dark-skinned face.

Table 1: Adding Images of African-American Women to Our Worship Space^{69 70 71}
(For additional biographical information see their slave narratives and autobiographies.)

Name	Lifetime	Feast	Biographies and Photos
<i>Group 1</i>			
Phillis Wheatley	1753-1784		Hine p.344-7, Vol. 3
Jarena Lee	1783- unknown		Hine p. 236, Vol. 2
Sojourner Truth	1797-1883	7/20	Hine p.259-62 Vol.3, USPS 1986
Maria W. Stewart	1803-1879	12/17	Hine p.193-4, Vol. 3 (no photo)
Harriet Ross Tubman	1820-1913	7/20	Hine p.262-7, Vol 3, USPS 1978
Anna Julia Cooper	1858-1964	2/28	Hine p.308-12, Vol.1, USPS 2009
Elizabeth Evelyn Wright	1872-1906	2/28	Hine p.395, Vol.1 (no photo)
Sarah and Anne Delaney	1889-1999	4/14*	Hine p. 346-8, Vol. 1
<i>Group 2</i>			
Ida B. Wells-Barnett	1862-1931		Hine p.337-340 Vol. 3, USPS 1990
Mary McLeod Bethune	1875-1955		Hine p.94-104 Vol. 1, USPS 1985
Nannie Helen Burroughs	1879-1961		Hine p.174-8 Vol. 1
Zora Neale Hurston	1891-1960		Hine p.88-93 Vol. 2, USPS 2003
Pauli Murray	1910-1985		Hine p. 405-7, Vol. 2
Verna Dozier	1917-2006		Episcopal lay theologian
Barbara Jordan	1936-1996		Hine p.166-9, Vol. 2
Birmingham Martyrs	15 Sept 1963 ⁷²		Addie Mae Collins, Denise McNair, Cynthia Wesley, Carol Robertson
<i>Group 3</i>			
Barbara Harris	1930 -		Hine p. 25-7, Vol. 2
Bernice Johnson Reagon	1942-		Hine p. 30-1, Vol. 2
Irene Jackson-Brown			Episcopal music historian
Sandye A. Wilson			Episcopal priest
Katie Geneva Cannon			Presbyterian minister and ethicist

* commemorates Henry Delany as father of Sarah Louise (Sadie) and Anne Elizabeth (Bessie)

⁶⁹ Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in America*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005) including photos and biographies of most of the women

⁷⁰ United States Postal Service Black Heritage Stamps,
<http://esperstamps.org/history.htm> and <http://esperstamps.org/heritage/bh-1.htm>

⁷¹ Lesser Feasts and Fasts at http://satucket.com/lectionary/Alpha_list.htm

⁷² Richard Farina, "Birmingham Sunday" in *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Songs of the Freedom Movement*. comp. and ed. Guy and Candie Carawan. (New York: Oak Publications, 1968.)

CHAPTER 6

STRATEGIES FOR INCORPORATING ANTI-OPPRESSION IMAGES IN PARISH WORSHIP SPACE

Three types of products might emerge from this study in video, book, and exhibit formats. Video format was suggested when I spoke with Sandra Squires⁷³ and she thought I might create a slide show or video of examples from churches of visual diversity. An effective title for this video gallery would be *The Fellowship of Christ's Body: Adding Images of African-American Women to Our Worship Space* (see Chapter 5). This video format would be good for Bible Study openers, Annual Meetings as inspiration, or for planning committees to see as how to get started changing the visuals. The video might draw on the existing images from the postage stamp issues or icons as inspiration for the design of new windows, banners, or quilted frontals.

The second format was parish study books such as those published by the National Episcopal Anti-racism Group. They include *Seeing God in Each Other*⁷⁴ and *Seeing God in Diversity*.⁷⁵ A third volume based on this study might be called *Seeing God and Our Neighbors in Our Worship Spaces: A Parish Guide to Moral and Historical Meaning in Visual Arts*. The additional volume would complement the first two and follow the pattern of brief, practical activities suited for parish use or at retreat centers and other interdenominational gatherings. A preliminary outline of this book could be

⁷³ Sandra Squires, Ph.D., personal communication, January 23, 2010.

⁷⁴ Sheryl A. Kujawa-Holbrook, ed., *Seeing God in Each Other* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 2006).

⁷⁵ Elizabeth M. Magill and Angela Bauer-Levesque, *Seeing God in Diversity: Exodus and Acts* (Harrisburg, PA: Morehouse, 2006).

developed from this study and based on congregational responses to a set of preparatory questions for parish discussion (See Appendix.).

The third format is a travelling exhibit of banners possible called *A Visual Anti-Oppression Exhibit for Christian Education*. An initial showing of existing Episcopal Divinity School (EDS) existing banners and objects might be exhibited with a curator's booklet oriented for Alumni Days. Official photos of the pieces might be taken with the copyright to the seminary (as in previous historical booklet by Matthew Caldwell⁷⁶) and on behalf of the alumni who created and gifted the banners years ago. There also may be a possibility of printing a small color brochure on the chapel and exhibit for EDS alumni week to sell for a few dollars to cover the expense of printing (through EDS Emporium and free to new students). This brochure would build on Siegenthaler's current guide to the chapel.⁷⁷ A catalogue of current pieces and a walking tour of EDS to see them displayed including a Sherrill Library exhibit might be good for future years to honor the class gifts and memorials that brought the pieces to campus as a statement of EDS vision.

Once created any of these projects would be available for General Convention 2012, perhaps as a slide show for a kiosk in the seminary booth or as a banner exhibit in a larger hall to share the commitment and vision of Episcopal Divinity School with the larger church. After the designs are completed the banners can be resized to fit the venue or insets may be selected as is common in church textiles.

⁷⁶ Caldwell.

⁷⁷ Siegenthaler, 1.

The size ranges for liturgical textile art vary according to placement in the worship space. Design of new pieces in suitable proportions needs to consider the intended placement so that the details can be seen. Typical sizes for church banners, altar frontals, and pulpit and lectern hangers as well as small portable processional banners are fairly well standardized so that pieces can be sewn to fit many different churches without alteration. Finally clergy vestments often echo the design from the liturgical textiles or are created as a set on a unified theme. A set may include a stole, chasuble, frontal, and pulpit hanging in matching fabric and design. For this project I propose designs to fit the smaller size of banner to be hung on freestanding banner stands independent of existing walls or window sizes. This gives more flexibility for use and also enough space for adequate detail in setting and costume for the African-American women. Banners of this size can be constructed inexpensively and hung on standard banner stands with poles that are removable for processions.

My goal is to equip people in parishes to follow an ethical-historical process to see the need for additional visual art, to select representative pieces, and to inform and educate congregations and the community about the way that visual art invites us all into full membership in the fellowship of Christ's body.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The results of this study will help to prepare lay and ordained ministers in the Episcopal church to notice the exclusion of African-Americans from visual art in worship space. My observations about what I found and what was missing in visual art in various churches hopefully will inspire others to examine their own worship spaces with an eye to the Gospel message of inclusion. This study is designed to meet the current need for Christian education and to prepare ministers to lead worship in liturgical space that is true to the evolving demographics of Episcopal parishes.

In this study I reviewed current and historical contexts for visual art in worship space, especially in the Episcopal church in the United States of America. I recorded and interpreted the existing visual art in Saint John's chapel and at Episcopal Divinity School. I explored three examples of visual art in Episcopal or Anglican churches showing African Americans. I looked briefly at the role of symbols in addition to figures in visual art. Finally I identified a set of African-American women to be added to worship space as visual images in recognition of their contributions to church history in America in a variety of ways including as lay theologians, social ethicists, orators, writers, liturgists, and pastors.

I compiled criteria to guide my selection of the women and I creatively synthesized a method to design visual images that are more than simple portraits. I propose a set of banners as a for worship space in a parish that also could move to various seminaries and church gatherings with an interpretive guidebook. I selected three

African-American women who are listed or provisional in *Lesser Feasts and Fasts* to encourage immediate creation of some of the images for worship on those observances in the next liturgical year or two. I provide sufficient information on one additional woman who is still living. The new images emphasize the importance of mission and anti-oppression work as it has shaped post-colonial church history. This study is intended to increase the engagement of congregations in visual arts at the parish level without the intricacies and expense of adding permanent stained glass windows.⁷⁸

I would like to share a still mystifying source of clarity for me about this topic that came in my dreams. One night I saw a wall hanging in my dream with a strip of orange and red Kente cloth (as traditional Ghanaian men's clothing) next to a strip of white-on-blue batik, next to a traditional American folk art quilt block, next to other ethnic fabrics - all in shades of one color and then each in a different shade to make a multicolored rainbow. As I described this dream to a classmate we realized that each cloth represented a student at Episcopal Divinity School. The combined cloth might honor my classmates from Liberia (Kente cloth) and Northern India (perhaps batik). Additional strips of cloth represented others with heritage from Sweden, Scotland, French-Canada, and as Hispanic (Puerto Rico). Each cultural or ethnic group was symbolized by a strip of fabric that contained certain colors or textile patterns that they recognized as their own.⁷⁹ While recognizing my call to design anti-oppression visual arts, I sought to develop a subset for African-American women. I hope that the rest of the anti-oppression family of banners will be inspired by this study and designed soon.

⁷⁸ The Rev. Dr. Bill Kondrath, Personal Communication, April 2010.

⁷⁹ The Very Rev. Prince Wreh, Personal Communication, January 2010.

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APPENDIX: DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR PARISHES

1. Looking around your worship space as it is now

1A. What is the architectural style of your church building? _____

1. Do you use altar frontals regularly, often, occasionally, or seldom? (Pick one).

2. Do your clergy wear stoles to match the altar frontals and lectern hangings? ____

3. Do you have banners or flags in the worship space on most Sundays? _____

1B. Do you have plaques to commemorate special events or visitors or contributors? ____

1C. Do any of these plaques name women in their own right? _____

1D. Do these plaques represent black people or events involving black people? _____

1E. Do you have stained glass (or leaded glass) windows that depict people? _____

1F. How many women are shown in your windows? _____ Who? _____

1G. How many black people are shown in your windows? _____ Who? _____

1H. How many black women are shown in your windows? _____ Who? _____

1I. How many people in total are shown in your windows – other than Jesus Christ? ____

1J. Why were these other people chosen to show in windows? Are there inscriptions? ____

1K. How many women do you see in worship when you are in your church? _____

1L. How many black people do you see in worship when you are in your church? _____

1M. How many people total do you see in worship when you are in your church? _____

1N. When did people in your parish last look at worship space to update the visual art?

2. Bringing the Gospel more fully into your worship space

2A. Are your chairs (or pews) movable within your worship space? _____

2B. From your usual chairs or pews where are the sight lines in your worship space?

1. Straight ahead to the altar with view of windows on both sides _____
2. Across the center aisle to other people with windows behind them _____
3. Angled toward the front with partial view of windows _____
4. Multiple directions with pulpit or altar in center _____

2C. Where might you place a banner of a woman and/or black person along a sight line?

2D. Where might a new visitor first notice a banner of a woman and/or black person?

2E. Who in your congregation might not see themselves in your current windows and art?

2F. Who in your congregation do you think sees themselves in existing windows and art?

2G. What textiles or patterns in cloth remind you of yourself and your heritage?

2H. What textiles or patterns in cloth remind you of people different from yourself?

2I. Which moral principles would you like to explore in a parish discussion group?

1. Justice
2. Love
3. Respect for persons
4. Norms
5. Equality
6. Family
7. Community

2J. What historical era(s) would you like to explore in a parish discussion group?

1. African Diaspora
2. European Colonization and Slave Trade
3. Jim Crow segregation in the USA
4. Civil Rights Era in the USA
5. Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgendered (GLBT) rights movement USA
6. Historical Black Church Leaders
7. Women in Church History
8. Feminist Liberation Theology

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